# Freedom
## Anarchist Weekly

6d

MARCH 11 1967 Vol 28 No 7


# Pounds, Killings and Defence

ONLY recently Mr. Denis Healey proudly boasted in the House of Commons that military expenditure has been drastically slashed. This was a curious joke because the figure has drastically increased. What the excellent gentleman meant was that had this been a *Tory* budget, the figure would even have been higher and therefore to have a Labour defence budget is a definite saving *in itself* for the country. It is a pity that Mr. Healey did not elaborate on this and say that our saving would be even greater if we had a Democratic, Fascist or Communist administration.

To refute the gentleman, and show that the books have been well and truly cooked, there has come into our hands a document purporting (and we have little doubt of its veracity) to give a summary of various Government building contracts tendered during the first three months of 1966.

The Government, which invariably signs itself 'our obedient servant', has (like few other servants) several secrets, such as letter-opening, telephone tapping, cable vetting and 'D' notices which it keeps from us, its masters. These, it labels 'official secrets'.

We are sure that these revelations also come from Whitehall because it is still written in Civil Service language with occasional poetic flights such as: 'Fresh air and bright lights in the inner regions of the labyrinth of power might well destroy some of the rotten and poisonous imperialist fungi flourishing therein.' Well said!

This is a six-page duplicated document entitled 'Pounds, Killings and Defence: a Study in Official Secrets'. The authors admit that the revelations merely scratch the surface and there are many details which are never revealed to the public or 'their representatives' (our quotes).

The main accusation is that £27,814,550 for the Faslane and Coulport installations should be charged on the Road Fund and no cost given—but motorists will have to pay for extra petrol to view the site from a distance! The whole Polaris base comes to £7,783,000 plus the cost of the road (unspecified) and of course—a main police building (for demonstrators?)—again unspecified.

The last page of the pamphlet asks eight questions. The authors wish to know:

Why military expenditure is camouflaged as civil. (Answer) *The State doesn't really know the difference.*

Secondly: Who pays for RSG's upkeep and personnel if they are on a civilian-ministry property. (Answer) *You do.*

Why so many new arms depots? (Answer) *Because of Government's preparation for nuclear war.*

Why is a £2,000,000 hotel being built in Grosvenor Square, almost next door to the American Embassy? *We don't know either.*

Why were the Faslane and Coulport contracts negotiated during the election campaign promises of economy and peace? *As Stanley Baldwin said on a similar occasion 'You wouldn't have voted for me if I'd said anything else'.*

Sixth question: Is this *all* they've kept from us? (Answer) *Not by any means, Brother.*

Why is more spent on an airman's quarters than on the average civilian house? *In the words of Mandy Rice-Davies: 'Well, they would—wouldn't they?'*

Question Eight: Can we believe in the sincerity of a Government which tolerates 'Cathy-Come-Home' housing conditions, cuts social services, imposes a wage freeze but indulges in a sprawling proliferation of military expenditure?

(Answer) *Frankly, yes. This is Govern-*

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THE TUC conference of executives held in London on Thursday, March 2, did not present any surprises. The TUC plan was overwhelmingly supported with a six million majority. There never has been any conflict with the Labour Government and the TUC on the question of an incomes policy; as has been stated before on the back page, the difference is purely one of method and application.

George Woodcock, General Secretary of the TUC, has from the very beginning consistently argued and pushed for TUC control over wage vetting without government interference. Frank Cousins has shifted his line slightly, inasmuch as he now says if anyone is going to vet his members' wage claims it should be the TUC. 'Submit your claims and differentials,' he says, 'but we are the people to judge whether the approach you make is correct having regard to the whole of the circumstances surrounding the trade union organisation. We are establishing ourselves as the judges of our behaviour.'

One of the clauses of the TUC six-point plan is to draw up an annual report on the economy including a norm for wage increases after talks with the Government and the Confederation of British Industry.

Mr. Wilson welcomes this proposal by the TUC. He envisaged a 'national dividend' in relation to production, a national dividend for distribution between all forms of income for distribution to workers by hand and brain. The TUC could then judge priorities and timing to ensure that the amount distributed in higher pay did no earned by production

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The main accusation is that £27,814,550 has been entered for the first quarter of 1966 by the Ministry of Public Building and Works as civil expenditure whereas the items are camouflaged defence expenditure. Whilst it is true that the connection between military and civil expenditure in a warfare state becomes more and more complex it is a gross fraud to pass off concrete structures (underground) RAF Northwood (cost £910,000) as civil expenditure on public works—the public aren't even allowed in!

Likewise it will be interesting to know why airmen's houses (sometimes amounting to £7,000 each) should be paid by a civil ministry and why a road diverted Polaris base comes to £7,783,000 plus the cost of the road (unspecified) and of course—a main police building (for demonstrators?)—again unspecified.

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(Answer) *Frankly, yes. This is Government and the State at its most sincere.*

EDITORS.


# ANARCHY 73

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**DISCUSSES**

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# Mercy from Strength

**We received the following letter from Dennis Pye.**

ABOUT YOUR REPORT 'Bolton Anarchists Jailed' (FREEDOM, February 25) and your plea for information about Les Smith, Adrian Morton, and 'Henry' Heap, I enclose a cutting from the *Bolton Evening News* saying what happened at Manchester Crown Court.

The cutting is headed. 'Mercy from Strength for Firebug Trio', and includes the following remarks from Judge Crichton. 'I am quite convinced that you committed these acts with the sincere belief at the time that you were striking at that which you each regarded as wrong. In this country no one is prosecuted or persecuted for his political beliefs. But when men take action against the civilized community, that becomes a crime and the people become subject to punishment. These are grave crimes which you committed. I accept you are sincerely repentant.'

The Judge said he accepted that their five weeks incarceration in a remand centre had been a shattering experience. The establishment which they struck at might be far from perfect but fortunately it had strength enough to be merciful. 'The mercy extended to you today does not proceed from weakness but from strength.'

They were in fact each put on three years' probation. Dennis Pye finally comments.

'Although not in contact with any other Anarchist groups, these lads read FREEDOM and recent histories of Anarchism. All had been supporters of CND, but had become bitterly critical of its political approach. Les Smith had earlier been involved with the CP and with the Young Socialists but had become convinced of their wrongness and futility.

Five weeks in Risley Remand Centre near Warrington before the Court appearance made them determined to stay out of prison in future if at all possible, but has made Les Smith, at least, a more convinced Anarchist than ever. (I have not spoken to the other two since.) The small group of Bolton friends and comrades visited the lads as often as possible, and quite a few were at the Court.

Since their release on probation, Les Smith has made arrangements to continue his studies and hopes to make University, Adrian Morton has also gone back to Technical College. Henry Heap is, I think, looking for a job.'

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This all sounds terribly, terribly lovely, such good sense, the TUC, the CBI, and the Government all working together to determine in what manner we shall all live, this is basically what it all means. This is not even an original idea. Major C. M. Douglas of the Social Credit Party was putting similar ideas in 1920, and used the same phrase.

Before anyone cracks the gag about this should help the lower paid workers to catch up, don't you believe it, a very large number of workers are engaged in jobs where productivity cannot be measured, also remember what Wilson said when he first introduced the wage freeze. Wage claims using the 'comparison formula' will no longer be good enough. I ask you, what chance do they stand in a nil or one norm?

Another interesting point in the TUC plan is the hope that claims might ultimately be co-ordinated by the TUC to allow the establishment of centralised collective bargaining, this plus an annual conference of all union executives, smells of the TUC endeavouring to increase its power and authority, by the back door. To ask quite openly for more authority would most certainly be rejected by the unions because they are exceedingly jealous of any endeavours to supersede their own autonomy.

All in all it looks as if the marriage between the TUC and the Labour Government will survive, neither side wants a divorce, the Labour Party certainly does not want to lose the breadwinner of the family.

The Labour Government is not absolutely happy whether Mum TUC can keep all her brood in line even though George Woodcock makes the claim that: 'We offer the best prospect of dealing with people who do not conform'.

Wilson in a speech at Greenford whilst dishing out the bouquets to the TUC included some very ominous and pointed remarks. Wilson conceded that the Government had the fullest confidence in the determination of the trade union movement to carry through its policy but it had to express doubts about the strain to which the new policy would be put in its early months. 'Therefore,' said Mr. Wilson, 'failure could mean a clear duty on the part of the Government to rely on other measures which would inevitably have the effect of inhibiting growth and maintaining a higher degree of unemployment than either we or those in industry would consider desirable.'

The whole affair is a charade on a grand scale, the exercise being, to discover the hidden intentions. Fortunately they are not so well hidden, the TUC will operate the wage freeze, with the Government willing and able to enforce it, if and when the occasion arises. Obviously the TUC are going to operate the freeze as effectively as they can, Government re-intervention means unions breathing down their necks for 'action' and—let's face it—industrial action is the last thing the TUC would want to be involved in.

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# DISARMING THE IRA

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All this testifies to the considerable success of the Stalinists in their attempt to guide the Movement into their beloved 'peaceful road to socialism'. The history of their activities in Irish politics over the past few years and their gradual attempted takeover of Irish Republicanism provides an object lesson in Stalinist tactics.

During the fifties and early sixties the ruling Fianna Fail Party was trying to build a viable independent Irish capitalism. In foreign affairs it steered an independent course, opposing all military blocs, supporting China's entry into the United Nations, etc. Thus it was possible for the Moscow bureaucracy to tout it as a 'progressive', 'anti-imperialist' force in the field of international diplomacy. Its organizations in Ireland and Britain were ordered to support it unreservedly. The Stalinist Irish Workers' Party supported reactionary Fianna Fail candidates, even against left-wing socialists.

During this period Roy Johnston was a member of the South Hammersmith

branch of the British Communist Party and Treasurer of the Moscow-controlled and financed 'Connolly Association'. He denounced demonstrations calling for the release of Irish political prisoners. When a committee was formed in London in 1961 to protest against Fianna Fail's Military Courts (which were set up to deal with Republicans), Johnston and the CA denounced it on the grounds that 'it would embarrass the Irish Government'. In an article in the *Daily Worker* (23.6.60)

**Continued on page 4**

**'FREEDOM' SELLERS NEEDED FOR ANTI-WAGE FREEZE DEMO AND MARCH THIS SUNDAY, 2.30 P.M. SPEAKERS' CORNER.**

**CONTACT FREEDOM PRESS, OR PETER TURNER (AT SPEAKERS' CORNER, 2 P.M.).**

# from Strength

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**Four Hundred Million Customers** Carl Crow **4/6**
**The Great Conspiracy Against Russia** (1946) Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn **6/–**
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**Man-to-Man: The Story of Industrial Democracy** John Leitch **5/–**
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**China Fights Back** (1938) Agnes Smedley **3/–**
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**The Power of Non-Violence** Richard B. Gregg **6/–**
**A Short History of the Inquisition** Sir Alexander G. Cardew **5/–**
**I Speak for the Chinese** Carl Crow **4/6**
**From a Pitman's Notebook** Roger Dataller **4/6**
**Labour, Life and Poverty** F. Zweig **5/6**
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**Vol 12 1962: Pilkington v. Beeching**
**Vol 13 1963: Forces of Law and Order**


# NO STONE UNTURNED, MRS. WHITE

**CLEANING UP TV by Mary Whitehouse. Published by Blandford, 16s. and 7s. 6d.**

TO review a book without ever having read it demands a rare degree of rapport between critic and author but in extenuation I can only plead the precedent pioneered by Randolph Churchill who admitted that the articles he wrote for *The Times* concerning the book *The Death of a President* were written without having read that book. But for the sake of the Blandford advertising manager and as a salve and a sop to my own conscience let me state with fear of contradiction that Mrs. Whitehouse's book *is compelling reading, well written and offers a magnificently argued case for ending all my favourite television programmes.* Mrs. Mary Whitehouse, as the co-Founder of the 'Clean up TV' campaign, is one of those unfortunate but well-meaning people who believe that the only open discussion of our social and moral evils should take place under controlled conditions in the police court, the confessional, the doctor's inner chamber or the darkness of the marital bedroom. She believes, with the passionate sincerity of a suburban Stalin, that if any subject or scene offends her particular code of ethics, then it should be physically suppressed.

The truth of the statement, or the honesty of the view expressed would offer no saving grace for, if it fails to conform to Mrs. Whitehouse's naive and schoolgirl conception of social morality, then, cries Mrs. Whitehouse and all her sad little friends: 'Suppress, suppress, suppress!'

On July 24, 1966, Tich, a tiny toy animal, of the children's TV show was naughty and, said Mrs. Whitehouse, 'there was no suggestion that Tich deserved any punishment or that he should be sorry he had done wrong' while in another children's TV show Pinky and Perky 'were unkind, to the point of callousness, to the grown-up in their programme' and, says Mary Whitehouse, 'this kind of thing could be the origin of the cruelty some find it hard to understand of juvenile delinquents.'

In this simple-minded statement Mrs. Whitehouse has a valid point but only, and this is what she seems incapable of understanding, if the children that view these programmes were conditioned by the Mrs. Whitehouses of the world to no other source of information beyond the moral or social codes dictated by a particular minority holding or controlling the physical power to enforce their views.

If you indoctrinate a child so that a particular religious, political or social theory and practice is the sole manifestation of absolute truth then you have perverted that child's mind, for it must follow that any alternative theory or practice must, by its very opposition be evil, and the man that grows from the child should be duty-bound to destroy the very things that he has been denied knowledge of.

It is only when you offer the child and the man the opportunity to examine, and then to accept or reject all knowledge, that our minds and our societies

Given an authoritarian control of the mediums of communications, and though Mrs. Whitehouse would deny that this is what she seeks, this is the only way her own particular demands can be enforced. Given an authoritarian control one can glorify virtue and justify evil.

We produce our police programmes in which our police are lovable, humorous, always human, overworked, underpaid and occasionally cross with some actor whining out his role as the TV delinquent, and when Inspector Barlow or Detective Lynch have had to deal with some slimy, kinky hoodlum do we protest if they are just that teeny weeny bit rougher than Pinky and Perky in the Children's Hour. And if our police and those nice FBI gentlemen are so nice

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# WHO'S INIQUITY ?

**ON INIQUITY by Pamela Hansford Johnson, Macmillan 1967, 16s.**

IN A BALD account of the Moors murder and trial, Miss Pamela Hansford Johnson suggests that the social atmosphere, particularly pornography and the theatre of cruelty, in which such crimes occur, argues in favour of censorship. Must we not, she demands, in a permissive society, impose some restraint? She hopefully presumes that censorship will reduce the incidence of sadism and violence, and stir the numb, acquiescent public towards moral fury.

I have seldom read a book where there is greater confusion between symptoms and causation. Her comprehension of popular culture is negligible; of politics, scatty. Her understanding of freedom is typical liberal incoherence. Why so much pornography is written (she claims for a waiting, hungering, accelerating market) or what social factors give rise to the theatre of cruelty or why the world has become anti-art, pro-violence, conformist—these questions are either not asked or inadequately discussed. She bemoans an 'affectless' society, but withal succeeds in ignoring two world wars. This is so flagrant and inconceivable an omission that it would be anti-climactic so sort out and enumerate the many minor but glaring flaws in her thesis.

Take her schizophrenic reference to Hiroshima: 'The murder of one single child is made negligible by **nothing,** not even Hiroshima' which implies that Hiroshima was an abstract piece of unpleasantness against which the murder of one child on an English moor is obviously the greater horror.

This is purposefully tormented and irrational 'reasoning': so that Miss Hansford Johnson may reluctantly (but with manifest relief) find that she must rely on censorship to stem the flood of sadism on the grounds that it **may** contribute to sadistic behaviour. She argues that if one cannot disprove all connection between the pornographic library of the Moor murderer and his actions this is sufficient grounds for censorship. She calls on poor Dostoievsky to defend her position: nothing (and this includes freedom of ex-

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conform to Mrs. Whitehouse's naive and schoolgirl conception of social morality, then, cries Mrs. Whitehouse and all her sad little friends: 'Suppress, suppress, suppress!'

On July 24, 1966, Tich, a tiny toy animal, of the children's TV show was naughty and, said Mrs. Whitehouse, 'there was no suggestion that Tich deserved any punishment or that he should be sorry he had done wrong' while in another children's TV show Pinky and Perky 'were unkind, to the point of callousness, to the grown-up in their programme' and, says Mary Whitehouse, 'this kind of thing could be the origin of the cruelty some find it hard to understand of juvenile delinquents.'

In this simple-minded statement Mrs. Whitehouse has a valid point but only, and this is what she seems incapable of understanding, if the children that view these programmes were conditioned by the Mrs. Whitehouses of the world to no other source of information beyond the moral or social codes dictated by a particular minority holding or controlling the physical power to enforce their views.

If you indoctrinate a child so that a particular religious, political or social theory and practice is the sole manifestation of absolute truth then you have perverted that child's mind, for it must follow that any alternative theory or practice must, by its very opposition be evil, and the man that grows from the child should be duty-bound to destroy the very things that he has been denied knowledge of.

It is only when you offer the child and the man the opportunity to examine, and then to accept or reject all knowledge, that our minds and our societies are safe, for when codes of conduct that appear to offend command the public stage, then our safeguard lies not in rattling the jailer's keys but in arguing alternative codes of conduct.

censorship will reduce the incidence of sadism and violence, and stir the numb, acquiescent public towards moral fury.

I have seldom read a book where there is greater confusion between symptoms and causation. Her comprehension of popular culture is negligible; of politics, scatty. Her understanding of freedom is typical liberal incoherence. Why so much pornography is written (she claims for a waiting, hungering, accelerating market) or what social factors give rise to the theatre of cruelty or why the world has become anti-art, pro-violence, conformist—these questions are either not asked or inadequately discussed. She bemoans an 'affectless' society, but withal succeeds in ignoring two world wars. This is so flagrant and inconceivable an omission that it would be anti-climactic so sort out and enumerate the many minor but glaring flaws in her thesis.

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This is purposefully tormented and irrational 'reasoning': so that Miss Hansford Johnson may reluctantly (but with manifest relief) find that she must rely on censorship to stem the flood of sadism on the grounds that it **may** contribute to sadistic behaviour. She argues that if one cannot disprove all connection between the pornographic library of the Moor murderer and his actions this is sufficient grounds for censorship. She calls on poor Dostoievsky to defend her position: nothing (and this includes freedom of expression) warrants the torment or murder of a single child.

One might consider her proposal seriously if she meant it. But would she use the same gauge for the murder of

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# Anarchist Federation of Britain

**(As there is no national secretariat for enquiries, speakers, etc., please contact local groups.)**

*Except in London—see below.

**LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.** Temporary address c/o Wooden Shoe, 42 New Compton Street, London, W.C.2.
Sunday evening meetings 8 p.m. Lamb & Flag, Rose Street, off Garrick Street, London, W.C.2 (Leicester Square tube).
Friday, March 17, 8 p.m. at Lamb & Flag, to discuss action and public meetings at Easter. (Anarchist meeting Easter Sunday.)

**ANARCHIST MEETINGS AT HYDE PARK EVERY SUNDAY AT 2 P.M.**

**FREEDOM SELLING.** Every Saturday, 7 p.m. Meet in forecourt Charing Cross Railway Station for West-End selling.

**HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP.** Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow or John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.

**LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E.13.** 2nd and 4th Thursdays. Meetings at Mike Malet's, 61 Granville Park, Lewisham, S.E.13.

**NORTH LONDON ANARCHIST REVOLUTIONARY GROUP.** First meeting March 18. Contact Michael Buchanan, c/o 17a Maxwell Road, S.W.6.

**SOUTHWARK ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Dave Burden, 45b Barry Road, East Dulwich, S.E.22. Proposed meetings to be held on first and third Thursday of each month.

**NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS.** Contact: Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex. Meetings first and third Wednesday of the month at Jeannie's, 6 Epsom Close, Northolt Park, Middlesex, at 7.30 p.m.

**EALING ANARCHIST GROUP.** Get into touch with Adrian Derbyshire, 2 Oakley House, Oakley Avenue, London, W.5.

## OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

**3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.**

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Rooum's, now at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3.

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**ALTRINCHAM ANARCHIST YOUTH GROUP.** Get in touch with Stephen Richards, 25 North Vale Road, Timperley, Cheshire.

**ABERDEEN GROUP.** Correspondence to M. Dey, 29 Springhill Crescent, Aberdeen.

**BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst. Kent.

**BELFAST.** Contact: Roy McLoughlin, 46 Mooreland Park, Belfast 11, Ireland.

**BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary: Keith Watkins, 104 Jerry's Lane, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

**UNIVERSITY OF ASTON GROUP.** Contact: Dave Kipling, 87 Kingsbury Road, Erdington, Birmingham, 24. Off Centre Discussions. Geoff and Caroline Charlton's, 8 Lightwoods Hill, Bearwood, Smethwick, Birmingham, 41.

**BRIGHTON.** All those interested in activities and action should contact Richard Miller, 1/2 Percival Terrace, Brighton, 7.

**BRISTOL.** Contact: Dave Thorne, 49 Cotham Brow, Bristol, 6.

**CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Mike Crowley, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff.

**DUNDEE GROUP.** Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, by Cupar, Fife.

**GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE.** Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

**HERTS GROUP.** 'Anarchist Writers'. Peter Ford. Saturday, March 4. 8 p.m. 48 Lonsdale Road, Stevenage.

**HULL ANARCHIST GROUP.** J. Tempest, 89 Fountain Road, Hull. Tel. 212526. Meetings 8 p.m. 1st and 3rd Fridays of month at above address.

**IPSWICH ANARCHISTS.** Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, I

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**NORTH-WEST**
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Given an authoritarian control of the mediums of communications, and though Mrs. Whitehouse would deny that this is what she seeks, this is the only way her own particular demands can be enforced. Given an authoritarian control one can glorify virtue and justify evil.

We produce our police programmes in which our police are lovable, humorous, always human, overworked, underpaid and occasionally cross with some actor whining out his role as the TV delinquent, and when Inspector Barlow or Detective Lynch have had to deal with some slimy, kinky hoodlum do we protest if they are just that teeny weeny bit rougher than Pinky and Perky in the Children's Hour. And if our police and those nice FBI gentlemen are so nice then why should this not be the pattern for the Russian TV political police or, and consider this well Mrs. Whitehouse, the SS Guards of a Hitler type of West European totalitarianism.

And if it could be possible to have an interesting and amusing series about pleasant, overworked, underpaid but dedicated SS Guards, then why not a funny film about a concentration camp with well-fed prisoners playing tricks on the guards, and all for a good gay giggle? And, Mrs. Whitehouse, if you cry that I push my analogies to the point of ridicule, then let me quote cultural history for you. When this country was engaged in total war, with a total censorship, such a film *was* made in this country, and the British audience laughed. They laughed until the concentration camp gates were thrown open and the breathing skeletons of men and women, and of children, crawled over their own dead to a world that wept and cried, 'We did not know.'

If there is evil, Mrs. Mary Whitehouse, then let us examine it, for only then can we seek to end it, but if we live in a world where the wicked flourish like the green bay tree, then let us seek to alter our society and not our fiction.

Our mass culture can only reflect the society that creates it and our only safeguard lies in a free access to all information, true or false, pertaining to the human condition. Or, to put it briefly Mrs. Whitehouse, if you don't like what you see on my TV screen then seek out the sickness that it is reflecting, or lobby for another TV channel, but don't switch my set off.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

*In the next issue we shall have a review by someone who has read the book!*

# WHO'S INIQUITY?

**ON INIQUITY by Pamela Hansford Johnson, Macmillan 1967, 16s.**

IN A BALD account of the Moors murder and trial, Miss Pamela Hansford Johnson suggests that the social atmosphere, particularly pornography and the theatre of cruelty, in which such crimes occur, argues in favour of censorship. Must we not, she demands, in a permissive society, impose some restraint? She hopefully presumes that censorship will reduce the incidence of sadism and violence, and stir the numb, acquiescent public towards moral fury.

I have seldom read a book where there is greater confusion between symptoms and causation. Her comprehension of popular culture is negligible; of politics, scatty. Her understanding of freedom is typical liberal incoherence. Why so much pornography is written (she claims for a waiting, hungering, accelerating market) or what social factors give rise to the theatre of cruelty or why the world has become anti-art, pro-violence, conformist—these questions are either not asked or inadequately discussed. She bemoans an 'affectless' society, but withal succeeds in ignoring two world wars. This is so flagrant and inconceivable an omission that it would be anti-climactic so sort out and enumerate the many minor but glaring flaws in her thesis.

Take her schizophrenic reference to Hiroshima: 'The murder of one single child is made negligible by **nothing,** not even Hiroshima' which implies that Hiroshima was an abstract piece of unpleasantness against which the murder of one child on an English moor is obviously the greater horror.

This is purposefully tormented and irrational 'reasoning': so that Miss Hansford Johnson may reluctantly (but with manifest relief) find that she must rely on censorship to stem the flood of sadism on the grounds that it **may** contribute to sadistic behaviour. She argues that if one cannot disprove all connection between the pornographic library of the Moor murderer and his actions this is sufficient grounds for censorship. She calls on poor Dostoievsky to defend her position: any children anywhere? Hiroshima? Even Vietnam? Why does she so conspicuously not say so? Or closer at home, the murder of the children at Aberfan by well-inculcated class indifference and class greed — and the acquiescent public to the double-think inquiry?

Milton in *Areopagitica* said most of what could be said about censorship. His observations are as true as they were over three centuries ago. A kind of censorship, however, must, and in fact invariably does, exist—at least with a few of us who do not succumb to conformist art or politics. It is private, limits no one's freedom but one's own, and is called criticism. One may thus be opposed to the theatre of cruelty not because it is amoral but because it is bad art; the thearte of cruelty **is** anti-man not because it exposes man to his most vulnerable and damaging self, but because being anti-art, it contaminates and condemns his natural virtues. And one may oppose pornography, not because it depraves people — generally people in some degree of depravity (for reasons that Miss Hansford Johnson does not examine) read it or are capable of being influenced by it—but because it is a symptom of stifled sexual liberty. Miss Hansford Johnson belongs to those liberals who confuse freedom with excessive fornication or scatology or violence.

One doesn't know where freedom will end up these days, does one?

Are all killers mad? No, she says, when you can find reasonable explanation for their action. Is gratuitous murder of unknown persons ever satisfactorily explicable? What else is war? What has the author to say of the arch-murderers—the State—whom all liberals in the end manage to sanction? If freedom for the individual to write and distribute and read his own brand of pornography and sadism makes Miss Hansford Johnson so nervous, why has she nothing to say of the State to cause our murders daily—not merely by the destruction of our sensibilities so that we have indeed become that 'affectless' society of which she complains, but by that very constant murdering we are so affectless to do anything about?

One ought to be able to dismiss Miss Hansford Johnson summarily. Unfortunately this book and an equally incompetent and more deranged contribution by Mary Whitehouse (on the need for cleaning up TV) are going to be widely and wildly prattled about, with a perfidious purpose. These books will be in the forefront of the forthcoming attack on freedom of the press. There is some likelihood that John Calder may be going to prison for publishing a dreary book, *Last Exit to Brooklyn,* by Hubert Selby Jr. We must, however reluctantly, defend its right to be published.

DACHINE RAINER.

# WHO'S CRAZY?

THE MANAGEMENT of the New Arts Theatre Club (6 Great Newport Street) has censored the feature film *Who's Crazy?* (director Tom White), and refused to allow it to be shown, as scheduled, during the week March 4-11. It seems that one of the main objections is to the musical soundtrack specially composed for the film by Ornette Coleman and played by the Ornette Coleman Trio. The question arises: Is Ornette Coleman's music obscene?

Although an agreement had been entered into between the London Film-makers Co-operative and the New Arts

music was obscene') and, as it was too *avant-garde,* the film would not be shown as he was withdrawing the use of the theatre.

*Who's Crazy?* which has been shown publicly in Paris at the Palais de Chaillot Cinematique and also at the Cannes Festival, has been seen in extract on ITV London. *New York Herald Tribune* in a favourable review said: 'For those with the patience to try something new, *Who's Crazy?* offers some interesting comment on the meaning—and relativity—of insanity. *Who's Crazy?* Is it the lunatics who escape from a bus taking them to a new asylum, or is it the "Keystone Cops" who try to track them down? Has society itself gone mad?'

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One might consider her proposal seriously if she meant it. But would she use the same gauge for the murder of over three centuries ago. A kind of censorship, however, must, and in fact invariably does, exist—at least with a few of us who do not succumb to conformist art or politics. It is private, limits no one's freedom but one's own, and is called criticism. One may thus be opposed to the theatre of cruelty not because it is amoral but because it is bad art; the thearte of cruelty **is** anti-man not because it exposes man to his most vulnerable and damaging self, but because being anti-art, it contaminates and condemns his natural virtues. And one may oppose pornography, not because it depraves people — generally people in some degree of depravity (for reasons that Miss Hansford Johnson does not examine) read it or are capable of being influenced by it—but because it is a symptom of stifled sexual liberty. Miss Hansford Johnson belongs to those liberals who confuse freedom with excess-

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Although an agreement had been entered into between the London Filmmakers Co-operative and the New Arts Theatre Club for the use of the theatre for showing the film, Mr. Birtwistle, manager of the theatre, through his assistant Mr. Mulligan, informed the Co-operative that the management and directors didn't like the film ('even the music was obscene') and, as it was too *avant-garde,* the film would not be shown as he was withdrawing the use of the theatre.

*Who's Crazy*? which has been shown publicly in Paris at the Palais de Chaillot Cinematique and also at the Cannes Festival, has been seen in extract on ITV London. *New York Herald Tribune* in a favourable review said: 'For those with the patience to try something new, *Who's Crazy*? offers some interesting comment on the meaning—and relativity—of insanity. *Who's Crazy*? Is it the lunatics who escape from a bus taking them to a new asylum, or is it the "Keystone Cops" who try to track them down? Has society itself gone mad?'

The Film-makers Co-operative is hoping to find a cinema willing to show the film. The directors of the New Arts Theatre have extended the frontier of obscenity to include the sound of music.

M.H.

# hist Federation of Britain

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—see below.

**RATION OF ANARCHISTS.** s c/o Wooden Shoe, 42 New ondon, W.C.2.
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, 8 p.m. at Lamb & Flag, to d public meetings at Easter. Easter Sunday.)

**ETINGS AT HYDE PARK AT 2 P.M.**

**ING.** Every Saturday, 7 p.m. urt Charing Cross **Railway** nd selling.

**CHIST GROUP.** Enquiries to 3 Pennymead, Harlow or John e Avenue, Epping.

**NDON, S.E.13.** 2nd and 4th gs at Mike Malet's, 61 Granville E.13.

**ON ANARCHIST REVOLU-UP.** First meeting March 18. Buchanan, c/o 17a Maxwell

**NARCHIST GROUP.** Contact b Barry Road, East Dulwich, meetings to be held on first and each month.

**NARCHISTS.** Contact: **Jim** shill Avenue, Northolt, Middle-st and third Wednesday of the e's, 6 Epsom Close, Northolt t 7.30 p.m.

**CHIST GROUP.** Get into n Derbyshire, 2 Oakley House, ondon, W.5.

## E LONDON N MEETINGS

**f each month at Jack Robinson a's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 8 p.m.**

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**DUNDEE GROUP.** Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, by Cupar, Fife.
**GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE.** Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.
**HERTS GROUP.** 'Anarchist Writers'. Peter Ford. Saturday, March 4. 8 p.m. 48 Lonsdale Road, Stevenage.
**HULL ANARCHIST GROUP.** J. Tempest, 89 Fountain Road, Hull. Tel. 212526. Meetings 8 p.m. 1st and 3rd Fridays of month at above address.
**IPSWICH ANARCHISTS.** Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.
**NEW HAM LIBERTARIANS.** Contact Mick Shenker, 122 Hampton Road, Forest Gate,
**NORTH-WEST ESSEX.** Meetings on the first Saturday of each month at 7.30 p.m. at Robert Barltrop's, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Walden.
**ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.
**OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact H. G. Mellor, Merton College, Oxford.
**PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST FEDERATION.** Contact J. Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymstock, Plymouth, Devon.
**READING ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.
**ROCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Emyl Davies, 22 St. Margaret's Street, Rochester. Fortnightly meetings from Monday, February 13.
**SHEFFIELD.** Contact Robin Lovell, c/o Students' Union, University, Sheffield. Tel. 24076.
**SWANSEA.** Please get in touch with Julian Ross, 11 Wellfield Close, Bishopston, Swansea.
Regional Secretary: Alistair Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley.

## NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

**NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION.**
**BUXTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary: F. A. Gresty, Punchbowl, Manchester Road, Buxton.
**CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary: Anne Marie Fearon, 16 Devonshire Road, Chorley.
**LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST GROUP.** Brenda Mercer, 6 Breckside Park, Liverpool, 6.
**MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary: Dave Poulson, Flat 2, 619 Wilbraham Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester, 21.

## EAST LONDON FEDERATION

**WEST HAM ANARCHISTS.** Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7.
**LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.** Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 82 North Road, Highgate, N.6. (Tel.: MOU 5702.)

## PROPOSED GROUPS

**WISBECH.** Anyone interested write Albert Community, Chaptor House, Leverington, Wisbech, Cambridgeshire.
**CAMDEN (LONDON).** Provos. Anarchist/Provo/C.100/Action group—anyone interested please contact Chris Davis at 56 Chalk Farm Road, N.W.1.
**WEST SUFFOLK.** Please write to Carl Pinel, c/o West Suffolk General Hospital, Hospital Road, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.
**S.W. MIDLANDS.** Kate, Bill and baby Jane Beveridge wish to contact libertarians in S.W. Midlands. Phone Mickleton 275 or write to Myrtle House, Mickleton, Chipping Camden, Gloucestershire.
**MIDLAND YOUTH AGAINST AUTHORITY AND BUREAUCRACY.** Proposed Group. Contact N. Jackson, 8 Leighs Close, High Heath, Pelsall, Walsall.
**LEE, LONDON, S.E.12.** Anarchist-Radical Group. Contact Rodney Hodges, 2 Cambridge Drive, Lee, S.E.12.

## ABROAD

**U.S.A. NEW YORK CITY.** N.Y. Federation of Anarchists, c/o Torch Bookshop, 641 East 9th Street, N.Y., 10009. Meets every Thursday evening.
**AUSTRALIA.** Anarchist Group, PO Box A 389, Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, 8 p.m.
**DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION.** 52 Mindevej, Soborg-Copenhagen, Denmark.
**VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA.** Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, 1844 Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 987-2693.
**U.S.A. VERMONT/NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Discussion group meets weekly. Contact Ed Strauss at RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.
**SWEDEN.** Stockholm Anarchist Federation. Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden.
**CANADA: Winnipeg.** Anybody interested in Direct action/anarchy contact G. J. Nasir, 606 Matheson Avenue, Winnipeg, 17, Manitoba.
**BELGIUM: LIEGE.** Provos, c/o Jacques Charlier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclessin-Liege, Belgium.
**EAST AFRICA.** George Matthews would like to make contact. Secondary school teacher from UK. PO Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.
**USA: NORTH-EASTERN MINNESOTA.** Contact James W. Cain, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minn. 55720, USA.

# Letters

## Desperate

Dear Freedom Press,

We are a young couple with a baby and have to live separately because we are unable to find accommodation together in London. I have to live in Oxford with my baby and my boyfriend has to live in London. We desperately want to be together and would like any furnished/unfurnished accommodation at reasonable cost.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

*c/o Freedom Press,* SUSAN BECKWITH.
17A *Maxwell Road, S.W.6*

## Not Comical

Dear Friend,

One of the manifestations of violence which should concern peacemakers is the importation of large numbers of American war comics into this country which can be obtained for a few pence from most bookstalls. I am writing to you because I think you will agree that these comics may have an adverse effect on the people, particularly children, who read them. They glorify and ennoble the vilest aspects of war, and the act of killing another human being is depicted as heroic; it is heroic to blast Japanese, heroic to drop bombs on Germans, heroic to slaughter Chinese.

I believe that these publications have a dangerous effect on children in four ways. First, by constant visual reiteration, the pictures of battle, machine guns, flame throwers and napalm bombs may condition children to accept that violence is an integral and essential part of life. Second, in these comics, the enemy is not portrayed as a human being, capable of emotions and actions for good or evil, but as a cipher, a target, an object. This, I believe, could have a brutalising effect. Third, hatred against the enemy race (successively French, German, Japanese, Russian and Chinese) could be engendered. In a world where it is vital that men of different races and creeds live together in harmony, these comics are an influence for division and race hatred. Fourth, the attitude of these comics that 'our' side is inevitably in the right could embed itself in a child. This could cause intolerance and belligerence in adulthood, and indirectly affect the attitude of governments the world over. Also, a slightly less important point is that if, in view of our balance of payments difficulties, we have got to cut down on our imports, let us first stop importing this trash!

It is arguable whether these publications would greatly harm a normal, well-balanced child. However, a child who was already potentially or slightly unbalanced could be pushed further into delinquency and abnormality by their cumulative effect.

and all too often failing to find. David Stringer in particular is making a vital point when he stresses that people cling to the Labour Party (for example) because it is something solid and real to them and those concerned with alternatives must project something equally solid and specific. This is why polemics and castigation of things going wrong, though necessary, are inadequate if we are to make any headway against these evils as distinct from simply moaning about them.

I don't like your industrial page, it bores me and I suspect it bores everyone else. I have been a manual worker and I have worked in factories. Anarchists, like the Fabians, are always talking about how to improve factory work, even though it is a precondition of progress that most of it should be abolished. If factory workers haven't got enough gumption to walk out of factories simply because as institutions they demean the human condition, it is not a scrap of use FREEDOM trying to rectify their lack of insight by campaigning for an extra fourpence a week. It is agricultural wages which should be raised; at present the urban worker is getting high wages for producing rubbish as part of the exploitation of the farm worker who is producing his food.

But you are a tonic all the same.

Fraternally,

JOHN PAPWORTH.
Editor, *Resurgence.*

## Computer Dating

Dear 'Jack Spratt',

I think you're wrong about computer dating. Sex and love are the pleasures, not the agonizing loneliness and emptiness that precede them. You and I and other relatively emancipated human beings may find it easy to acquire sexual partners, but there are too many thousands of sad people who don't.

Apart from the fact that these computer firms are making money out of people's plight, what is immoral or objectionable about **a machine** helping in partner choice? Each of us meets so very few people, and of these few such a very minute percentage may be approached sexually. And when we do 'choose' our partner or partners, what elementary mistakes we all make! What years of pointless effort to 'try and make a go of it'. It is easy enough for those, like ourselves, with a libertarian outlook to change quickly and easily from one partner to another—but what of the ordinary girls and boys with all the weight of convention behind them, pressing them to stay together through misery and hate?

I feel that while we are doing what we can to change society, suffering should be reduced to a minimum, and the daily toll of pain caused through sex and love deprivation is as unthinkable as the daily toll of pain caused by war and hunger.

I have seen several versions of the 'computer dating' questionnaires. I am no academic psychologist, but I have been deeply interested in psychology for several years and would say that, on the whole, the questions asked are balanced, basic, important and scientifically compiled. Why do you 'assume that the basis of selection by the machine is that of similarity'? Would it not be more logical

# 'BBC to Show Mixed Rac

THERE WAS NO PROTEST from the Canine Defence League at Mr. Wilson's description of abstentionist MPs as 'dogs'. Mr. Wilson said that a dog was allowed one bite but if the dog went on biting, not because of conscience but because of viciousness, something happened to the dog. He might not get his licence renewed. Nicolas Walter pointed out in a letter to the *Guardian* that whilst sixty MPs abstained from voting on the Defence White Paper this year, it only needed six to abstain in 1965 or 1966 to seriously influence the Government, this year's sixty had very little effect. . . . MR. WILSON bought himself a new dog but it is to go into the country for house-training. . . .

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It is arguable whether these publications would greatly harm a normal, well-balanced child. However, a child who was already potentially or slightly unbalanced could be pushed further into delinquency and abnormality by their cumulative effect.

If you are concerned that this rubbish should not be propagated among children, let me know what you are doing so that some co-ordination can be achieved.

Yours sincerely,

STUART MARRIOTT.

181 *Kingsdown Avenue,*
*South Croydon, Surrey*

## Bouquet & Brickbat

Dear Comrade,

You ask for readers' comments on your eight-page issue; my own are that I think it is one of the best you have ever published. The article on Kosygin's visit by 'N.W.' (who is he, I wonder?) was a brilliant example of polemical journalism, crisp, clean and forceful; Arthur Moyse was at his entertaining and informative best, whilst the articles by Alan Parker, and David Stringer were saying exactly the sort of things increasing numbers of people are looking for

I think you're wrong about computer dating. Sex and love are the pleasures, not the agonizing loneliness and emptiness that precede them. You and I and other relatively emancipated human beings may find it easy to acquire sexual partners, but there are too many thousands of sad people who don't.

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Their questions seem to probe two aspects of a person: his temperament and his attitudes. If the psychologists behind the computer plan are not quite the fools you think they are, they will very likely make sure that they pair off people with similar **attitudes** to life whilst balancing temperaments on a 'concave, convex' principle, as you put it.

I am happy that neither you nor I need send our £1 to a computer firm; but when science can be used to increase happiness, don't let's be so 'pure' and old-fashioned.

Just a last word, did you notice there is one very progressive aspect of these new organisations compared with the traditional 'marriage bureaux'? There was nothing about 'applicants must have the sincere intention to marry'. In fact, the very opposite: these questionnaires stress the sexual, friendship and non-formal aspects of the prospective liaison and even ask if you prefer your partner to be married or not!

In friendship, yours,

*Kent* JENNY JAMES.
2.3.67

## Subscription Rates

FREEDOM only (per year)
£1 10s. ($4.50) surface mail
£2 16s. ($8.00) airmail

ANARCHY only (per year)
£1 6s. ($3.50) surface mail
£2 7s. ($7.00) airmail

COMBINED SUBSCRIPTION
FREEDOM & ANARCHY (per year)
£2 10s. ($7.50) surface mail *both*
£4 15s. ($12.50) airmail *both*

FREEDOM (airmail) &
ANARCHY (seamail)
£3 17s. ($10.50) (per year)

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## Through the Anarchist

**USA**

A Christmas campaign against war-oriented toys went completely unheard: huge sales were reported for tanks, missile-launchers, guns, jeeps, etc. A toy manufacturer who offered 1,000 dollars in a 'peace-toy' competition did not receive a single useful answer.

**JAPAN**

In 1951 adherents of the neo-Nazi 'Soko Gakkai' numbered only some 20,000. Now the movement has 15 million members, that is to say, it can claim the allegiance of one Japanese in every seven. Members are grouped in a rigid military-style hierarchy based directly on that of the Nazi party; the degree of militancy is high and propaganda is being spread throughout Europe, Asia and the Americas. **Paris has been chosen as the centre for European propaganda, and already a following of 100,000 is claimed.**

**FRANCE**

According to official sources, 300,000

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**AUSTRALIA**

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# Introduce Your Friends to FREEDOM

**SIX SHILLINGS EACH WILL BRING THEM 'FREEDOM' AND 'ANARCHY' FOR TWO MONTHS WITH YOUR COMPLIMENTS.**

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# 'BBC to Show Mixed Race Couple in Bed'

## —Daily Telegraph

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IN ANSWER TO AN ENQUIRY in the *Guardian*, about the exact figure of deaths in the British raid on Dresden, Mark Arnold-Foster states that the SS man responsible for civil defence in Dresden gave a figure of 25,000 dead, 35,000 missing and 350,000 homeless. Other figures given have been 135,000 dead and from 200,000 to 300,000. This purposive raid took 68 minutes. In Vietnam about 100 villagers were killed in an accidental raid by a US plane on Long Vei. Compensation of $50 (about £17) will be paid. Two US Democratic Senators are disputing whether the cost of killing an NLF soldier is $350,000 or $300,000. . . .

THE MORNING STAR reprints a Soviet news agency interview with a Soviet expert, just returned from Vietnam, who alleged 'that latest Soviet weapons transported by rail to North Vietnam through China "just disappear on their way" and these disappearances have become more frequent during the current cultural revolution. Important installations arriving in North Vietnam could not be put together because somewhere in China Red Guards took them apart and "forgot" to put back some of the important parts. Soviet goods for Vietnam via China could be delayed for many weeks, and in a bid to defame Soviet aid to Vietnam, the Chinese removed Soviet trade-marks and replaced them with Chinese ones.' . . .

EARLE REYNOLDS, an American Quaker, is due to sail from Hiroshima to Haiphong with $10,000 worth of medical supplies for the North Vietnamese. . . .

JIM GARRISON, District Attorney of New Orleans, continued to improvise his script for his version of the Kennedy assassination plot. It is not disclosed yet whether the Cubans supposedly involved were left-wing or right-wing. Mr. George Raft, a former refugee from Cuba, was refused re-admission to this country. It is not known whether the Home Secretary was influenced by Raft's old movies. . . .

SENNET (University of London Union magazine) secured pictures and story of Post Office official taking commercial cables for GPO examination. A week later the *Daily Express* published the story. The Prime Minister criticised the publication of the story by the *Express* (not because it was necessarily untrue) but because it was a breach of 'D' (Defence) notices. The *Daily Mail* said, like a good boy, that it would have published the story earlier but for the 'D' notice. The Government has promised a two-party enquiry into the system of 'D' notices. The *Mirror* could do no better than to resign from the 'D' notice committee and the *Spectator* defied the Official Secrets Act by printing the 'D' notices. . . .

MR. PETER BENENSON, of Amnesty, alleged that a cable from Aden describing fifty deaths in an anti-British demonstration was censored, whilst a report appeared in a French newspaper. This story was denied and Mr. Benenson was disowned by Mr. Sean McBride of Amnesty. Mr. McBride was, it was alleged by Mr. Benenson, knowingly in receipt of Central Intelligence Agency (US) funds for the International Committee of Jurists. It was alleged against Mr. Benenson that he had knowingly distributed among Rhodesian political refugees money from the British Government. There the matter rests. . . .

LYONS AND CO., manufacturers of ZOOM ice-lollies, failed to get a High Court injunction against Trebor Ltd., who intend to manufacture ZOOM bubble-gum.

JON QUIXOTE.

## NORTH-WEST FEDERATION CONFERENCE

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(from notes supplied by D.P.).

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JENNY JAMES.

draw them. I cannot let the matter rest as it is. I have my human rights, and must be convicted or vindicated'. Father Christie said, 'I have no intention of apologizing to anyone. I do not give a damn about the reaction.' . . .

THE GUARDIAN has been running an enthralling correspondence about dogs who would roll over and 'die' at various commands. For example a clergyman speaks of a dog who would 'die' at the words 'Bonar Law' [Conservative Prime Minister], and revive at the words 'Lloyd George' [Liberal Prime Minister]. . . . THE PAPACY HAS PRONOUNCED that captains who go down with their ships are guilty of the sin of suicide. According in North Vietnam could not be put together because somewhere in China Red Guards took them apart and "forgot" to put back some of the important parts. Soviet goods for Vietnam via China could be delayed for many weeks, and in a bid to defame Soviet aid to Vietnam, the Chinese removed Soviet trade-marks and replaced them with Chinese ones.' . . .

EARLE REYNOLDS, an American Quaker, is due to sail from Hiroshima to Haiphong with $10,000 worth of medical supplies for the North Vietnamese. . . .

JIM GARRISON, District Attorney of New Orleans, continued to improvise his script for his version of the Kennedy assassina- appeared in a French newspaper. This story was denied and Mr. Benenson was disowned by Mr. Sean McBride of Amnesty. Mr. McBride was, it was alleged by Mr. Benenson, knowingly in receipt of Central Intelligence Agency (US) funds for the International Committee of Jurists. It was alleged against Mr. Benenson that he had knowingly distributed among Rhodesian political refugees money from the British Government. There the matter rests. . . .

LYONS AND CO., manufacturers of ZOOM ice-lollies, failed to get a High Court injunction against Trebor Ltd., who intend to manufacture ZOOM bubble-gum.

JON QUIXOTE.

## NORTH-WEST FEDERATION CONFERENCE

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## Through the Anarchist Press

**USA**

A Christmas campaign against war-oriented toys went completely unheard: huge sales were reported for tanks, missile-launchers, guns, jeeps, etc. A toy manufacturer who offered 1,000 dollars in a 'peace-toy' competition did not receive a single useful answer.

**JAPAN**

In 1951 adherents of the neo-Nazi 'Soko Gakkai' numbered only some 20,000. Now the movement has 15 million members, that is to say, it can claim the allegiance of one Japanese in every seven. Members are grouped in a rigid military-style hierarchy based directly on that of the Nazi party; the degree of militancy is high and propaganda is being spread throughout Europe, Asia and the Americas. **Paris has been chosen as the centre for European propaganda, and already a following of 100,000 is claimed.**

**FRANCE**

According to official sources, 300,000 Frenchmen are at present out of work; unofficial estimates put the real figure much higher, possibly by several hundred thousand.

**AUSTRALIA**

Premier of Victoria and leader of the Liberal-Country Party coalition is a small, double-chinned, insignificant man named Henry Bolte; intelligence, originality, consistency, honesty, are qualities that have rarely complicated his political life or that of the successive State Governments he has led. At present the prisons of Victoria hold a considerable number of murderers (including several double murderers) whose sentences have been commuted by the Bolte government from death to life imprisonment; 'life' often meaning less than 20 years. Prior to the hanging of Ronald Ryan on February 3, Bolte flatly refused to see deputations led by reputable solicitors and doctors, as well as one headed by Anglican Archbishop Wood and prison chaplain Father Brosnan; no reason was offered for this official intransigence. A letter from a friend in Melbourne suggests that the hanging was a sop thrown to reactionary pressure groups, and that Bolte, a man of no importance except by purely local standards, is the victim of an ever-increasing craving for personal power.

JOHN THURSTON

(Sources: *Combat Syndicaliste, Espoir, Défense de l'Homme.*)

## Hunger March

The London Federation of Anarchists has sent the following telegram to Danilo Dolci: 'We fully support your march against hunger and poverty.'

## £60 DOWN!

**WEEKS 8 & 9, MARCH 4, 1967:**

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| **Expenses: 9 weeks at £90:** | **£810** |
| **Income: Sales and Subs.:** | **£537** |
| **DEFICIT:** | **£273** |

**Southwark:** Anarchist Group £1/2/6; **Wolverhampton:** J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; **Northolt:** Anarchist Group* 4/-; **Bedford:** M.T. £1; **Oxford:** Anon* 5/-; **Fife:** J.D. £2/2/-; **Huddersfield:** A.L. 10/-; **Cheltenham:** L.G.W.* 10/-; **Leeds:** G.L. 2/8; **Bangor:** J.T. £5; **Wolverhampton:** J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; **Leeds:** D.S. 1/3; **Northolt:** Anarchist Group* 4/-; **St. Cloud:** M.A. 8/3; **Manchester:** N.W. Federation 10/-; **London, S.E.26:** J.B. 10/-; **Bromley:** P.D. 10/6; **Hebrides:** B.J. £2/10/-; **Cardiff:** Anarchist Group* 5/-; **Oxford:** P.B. £1/13/3; **Newcastle, N.S.W.:** B.C. £2/4/-; **Belfast:** W.G. 5/6; **Reigate:** W.G. 10/-.

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| **TOTAL:** | **£21 17 11** |
| **Previously Acknowledged:** | **£191 4 5** |
| **1967 Total to Date:** | **£213 2 4** |

***Denotes Regular Contributor.**

**Gift of Books—London, S.W.10:** S.W.T.


uce Your Friends

EEDOM

**SIX SHILLINGS EACH WILL BRING THEM 'FREEDOM' AND 'ANARCHY' FOR TWO MONTHS WITH YOUR COMPLIMENTS.**

# DATA & the Wage Freeze

ONE of the few unions that has consistently opposed the incomes policy of the Government is the 71,000-strong Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians' Association. On a number of occasions it has breached the wage freeze and has secured higher wages for its members or, as at a company in Newcastle, C. A. Parsons, after a 14-week strike, gained a fourth week's holiday.

These increases have, of course, only affected a small minority and the Government can to a certain extent ignore them. There is also the clause written into the incomes policy which says that wage increases that affect less than 200 men do not have to be notified by the management to the Ministry. This has been used by DATA and managements have often given in because a stoppage by DATA members would have meant a progressive shut-down of the plant. These breaches of the wage freeze and the period of severe restraint are only pin-pricks, but nevertheless they show what can be done if a union shows some militancy. In other words, 'militancy pays'.

### LOCK-OUT

However, this week the shipbuilding employers have challenged DATA. Their Federation has decided to go ahead with a lock-out (they call it suspension) from March 7 of 1,800 draughtsmen, employed in 70 shipyards, unless the members who are at present on strike at Swan Hunter, Tyneside, go back to work. This strike began last Monday after negotiating procedure had ended in deadlock.

Last July, DATA put in a wage claim to the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation, which was rejected and so they submitted the claim to individual companies including Cammell Laird, John Brown's and Swan Hunter. In February, with the negotiating procedure exhausted, the union issued strike notices and three days before they expired, Swan Hunter offered a 5% increase to be paid from July, subject to Government approval. DATA turned this offer down, saying that they wanted increases of at least £1 to £1 10s. for men over 30 and so they stopped work last Monday. Those on strike total less than 200, but the employers see this action, quite rightly, as one of leverage on the rest of the shipbuilding companies. Good tactics on the part of DATA, but this time it has not come off!

Mr. Greenwell, for the employers, said: 'There is nothing special in the circumstances at Swan Hunter's to justify this action being taken and it is obvious that any increases conceded there will result in similar demands being made at other yards throughout the country. We are not prepared to allow victimisation of individual firms in support of what is in effect a national claim.'

While the union sees their leverage tactics as legitimate, which is fair enough, they also say: 'A national lock-out would be unconstitutional. . . . It would be like us saying that because we could not reach agreement in one yard, we were calling a national strike.' This would be another tactic, just as legitimate in my view as the leverage method. After all the Employers' Federation is only an organisation formed to protect the collective interest of the shipbuilding firms, so I do not think DATA should complain if they use their collective strength.

### TAKING ON THE GOVERNMENT

The lock-out can be called 'unconstitutional', but employers are doing this every day of the week and gain assistance from the Government's incomes policy. From the workers' point of view, a wage claim now means taking on the Government. Employers can say, as have the draughtsmen have not had a pay rise since July, 1965. Swan Hunter's could have said nothing, like other firms, and paid up considering that only 170 men are involved. However, they have decided to make an industrial issue of it. How far all the companies will follow the Federation remains to be seen, but according to the *Morning Star*, there are signs 'of cracks in the employers' front—with possibly three of them refusing to play ball and carry the lock-out into effect.'

While workers are condemned for taking action which holds up exports, to my knowledge there has not been any attack in the national press on the dreadful threat to our balance of payments, economy, etc. that this lock-out presents. The Employers' Federation says: 'Notwithstanding the serious consequences which such action may have for the industry' . . . they have 'no option but to issue the attached notice of suspension.'

### CLARK CHAPMAN LTD.

The executive of DATA have advised all locked-out members to turn up for work as usual on Wednesday. They will be paid dispute benefit by the union, which has about £1m in realisable assets and could be assisted by a levy on other members. DATA could also face a direct challenge from the Government, who may decide to issue an Order under the Prices and Incomes Act, delaying a payment conceded by Clark Chapman Ltd., a Newcastle company which makes boilers. The company has given increases of 10s. to 20s. following a threat of strike action by DATA.

Whether or not an order will be slapped on the 200 DATA members remains to be seen. If the Government does, it will mean that the union executive and members could face fines and imprisonment if they take action to gain the already conceded increase. DATA, although small, is putting up a good fight in opposing the Government. Of course, its small size has enabled it to get away with it so far, but nevertheless, it must be recognised. While Cousins talks and Clive Jenkins uses the courts, George Doughty and the DATA executive have taken positive action.

Militancy, the willingness to use the strike weapon if needed, is the lesson for all trade unionists. It can be done, but a small union like DATA cannot defeat the Government's incomes policy by itself. It will need action from the rank and file who will have to defy the executives in a campaign against the incomes policy and the centralisation of bargaining. Efforts should be made by trade unionists, especially

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P.T.

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**Elizabeth Windsor.** Hull Anarchist Group require any anti-royalist information or literature. Particularly about the Queen. H.A.G., 89 Fountain Road, Hull.

**Poetry Readings, Manchester.** Free, informal, at Castle Hotel, Oldham Street, off Piccadilly, Manchester. Thursdays, starting March 2, 7.30 p.m. Further information/kip required, contact David Stringer, c/o International Centre, 64 George Street, Manchester, 1.

**Anarchy.** Will exchange copies of 2 and 33 for 37 and 38. Box 48.

**Abolition of Royalty.** Individual Action being discussed now in all parts of the country and abroad. For details of meetings apply Box 49.

**Badges.** 'Free Stuart Christie—Franco's Prisoner', 3/6 for six (including postage), minimum order. Proceeds to new campaign expenses. Orders to John Rety, c/o Freedom Press.

**House or Apartment wanted for July.** American comrades (4) need house or flat to rent for month of July. Box 50.

**Speakers.** Harlow Anarchists intend to run a series of public meetings and indoor forums. Comrades willing to speak on anarchistic topics will be paid expenses if necessary. Please contact the Harlow Group (see groups column) with offers or suggestions.

**Christian Anarchists** wishing to meet other Anarchist or Libertarian Christians please write to Carl Pinel, c/o West Suffolk General Hospital, Hospital Road, Bury St. Edmunds.

**If you wish to make contact let us know.**

## DISARMING THE IRA

**Continued from page 1**

Desmond Greaves wrote: 'The 26-county Republic is the most progressive state in Western Europe. . . . There are no deaconic Special Powers.' This at a time when the Fianna Fail Government was exercizing its power to arrest and imprison people for an unlimited period without charge or trial! In *Outlook* (No. 4, January 1961), magazine of the South Hammersmith CP, Johnston repeated this line, describing the Free State as 'the most progressive country in Western Europe'.

However, to the chagrin of the Stalinists, Sean Lemass failed to make independent Irish capitalism work. He turned towards the Common Market and integration with Britain. Last year he signed a 'Free Trade Agreement' with Wilson which effectively makes the 26 counties an economic province of British Imperialism. This led Moscow — and therefore the British Communist Party and therefore the Connolly Association— to switch the line.

The crisis which had been gathering over Irish capitalism since the late fifties made for considerable industrial and agrarian unrest. The Republican Movement, noting and analysing its failure to arouse the mass of the Irish people on the single issue of partition, was beginning to involve itself in social agitation. The situation was potentially explosive. If the revolutionary traditions AND THE ARMS of Republicanism became a focus for the growing discontent, then there was a real chance of a showdown between the Irish people and their exploiters.

Fianna Fail had been revealed in all its naked obscenity as a reactionary Tory rump. The Stalinists had to abandon it, but were still faced with the necessity of heading off any potentially revolutionary tendency. So Greaves dispatched Johnston to Dublin. He was entrusted with disarming the Republican Movement. As we have seen, he has done well.

The Sinn Fein Ard Fheis was preceded by some typical Stalinist 'organization'. Known revolutionaries were expelled or squeezed out. Richard Behal, just after escaping from gaol, was summoned to the offices of the *United Irishman* (which are watched 24 hours a day by the Special Branch). Not unnaturally, he didn't turn up. He was expelled forthwith. Others driven out of the Movement included many who had taken part in the IRA campaign of 1956-1962. Slander campaigns were mounted against leaders of the anti-parliamentary persuasion.

There is now in progress an attempt to disarm the IRA. Country units are being told to hand over their arms to the Dublin Headquarters. Many are refusing, and one unit recently went on a raid and obtained 34 extra small arms in Portmarnock. One th
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**Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1. Published by Freedom Press, 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.**

Freedom
For Workers' Control
MARCH 11 1967 Vol 28 No 7

# THE SIGNIFICANCE OF NALSO

TWO EVENTS in the Labour Party give reason for hope. The Labour Party has found itself forced to cease its subsidy to Nalso—its student organization, which it alleges is now an SLL front; and the pottery workers have decided to cease paying their political levy to the Labour Party.

These are more significant in each case than would be supposed either from a mere statement of the facts, or a consideration of the relative size of the Union and association. The Pottery Workers' Union has not for a long time been noted for its radicalism; indeed not long ago a leftist Labour Parliamentary candidate writing in *Peace News* mentioned that rank and file pottery workers generally ignored their Union, writing it off as hopelessly reformist and right wing, and looked instead for help to a handful of leftist MPs in the Stoke area.

There has of course long been discontent among workers in the Cornish china clay industry, which had already been cut back before the '64 Wilson Government was elected. The discontent had been to some extent fostered by Labour politicos anxious for a few cheap votes and ready to promise that Labour would do this, that and the other. Then comes the Freeze, the selective employment tax and so forth, and discontent in the potteries themselves rises to the point where this right wing union is forced to take action (while, of course, the left MPs remain within the Labour fold).

This is in line with many reports by more honest LP socialists of the last Party Conference. Whereas in previous years the constituency delegates were noted for militancy and the TU ones for their conservatism, at the last conference, though the Union votes were still generally cast for the right, there was a tendency for the junior members of the TU delegations to express more radical criticisms of the Government than those jobs depend on their getting some concessions. A constituency worker is sold on the politics of social democracy, the mere fact that the lesser TU bureaucracy have traditionally been less socialist makes them more flexible since they have not got into the habit of explaining away every crime against humanity in spurious socialist terms.

Naturally the Unions, being adapted by their very organization to the continuance of a class system, this radicalisation of the Unions can only proceed within clearly defined limits, but it is an inevitable prior development before there can possibly emerge in this country any libertarian and syndicalist industrially based socialist movement.

Just as the pottery workers had not previously been noted for their leftism so, though Nalso has, since about 1958, been solidly situated on the Labour Left, it has also been firmly committed through all this period to entrist politics, and opposed to even the fake open opposition to Labour manifested by the SLL. Besides remnants of the New Left, at least three Marxist factions (whether Trotskyist or Luxemburgist), who insist on work within the Labour Party, have traditionally had significant strength within Nalso.

As far back as 1959, the Nalso executive was the scene of a dogfight between one such group and another that was then within the SLL but soon after left it to identify itself more closely with Labour. While, as recently as last year, a third such group—on the strength of the work of two sons of a Labour MP who had joined it—was reputed to have picked up one or two hundred militants within Nalso.

If, now, Nalso is merely an SLL front, then it means that the entrist doctrines of these groups have proved inadequate to retain the loyalties of militant Labour student youth, and if this is so, then here is something on which those who talk of staying with the masses should reflect. If, as is probably more likely, the SLL has no appreciable influence in Nalso, and Labour has merely used the SLL as a convenient excuse for sitting

the draughtsmen have not had a pay rise since July, 1965. Swan Hunter's could have said nothing, like other firms, and paid up considering that only 170 men are involved. However, they have decided to make an industrial issue of it. How far all the companies will follow the Federation remains to be seen, but according to the *Morning Star*, there are signs 'of cracks in the employers' front—with possibly three of them refusing to play ball and carry the lock-out into effect.'

While workers are condemned for taking action which holds up exports, to my knowledge there has not been any attack in the national press on the dreadful threat to our balance of payments, economy, etc. that this lock-out presents. The Employers' Federation says: 'Notwithstanding the serious consequences which such action may have for the industry' . . . they have 'no option but to issue the attached notice of suspension.'

**CLARK CHAPMAN LTD.**

The executive of DATA have advised all locked-out members to turn up for work as usual on Wednesday. They will be paid dispute benefit by the union, which has about £1m in realisable assets and could be assisted by a levy on other members. DATA could also face a direct challenge from the Government, who may decide to issue an Order under the Prices and Incomes Act, delaying a payment conceded by Clark Chapman Ltd., a Newcastle company which makes boilers. The company has given increases of 10s. to 20s. following a threat of strike action by DATA.

Whether or not an order will be slapped on the 200 DATA members remains to be seen. If the Government does, it will mean that the union executive and members could face fines and imprisonment if they take action to gain the already conceded increase. DATA, although small, is putting up a good fight in opposing the Government. Of course, its small size has enabled it to get away with it so far, but nevertheless, it must be recognised. While Cousins talks and Clive Jenkins uses the courts, George Doughty and the DATA executive have taken positive action.

Militancy, the willingness to use the strike weapon if needed, is the lesson for all trade unionists. It can be done, but a small union like DATA cannot defeat the Government's incomes policy by itself. It will need action from the rank and file who will have to defy the executives in a campaign against the incomes policy and the centralisation of bargaining. Efforts should be

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P.T.

zation, which it alleges is now an SLL front; and the pottery workers have decided to cease paying their political levy to the Labour Party.

These are more significant in each case than would be supposed either from a mere statement of the facts, or a consideration of the relative size of the Union and association. The Pottery Workers' Union has not for a long time been noted for its radicalism; indeed not long ago a leftist Labour Parliamentary candidate writing in *Peace News* mentioned that rank and file pottery workers generally ignored their Union, writing it off as hopelessly reformist and right wing, and looked instead for help to a handful of leftist MPs in the Stoke area.

There has of course long been discontent among workers in the Cornish china clay industry, which had already been cut back before the '64 Wilson Government was elected. The discontent had been to some extent fostered by Labour politicos anxious for a few cheap votes and ready to promise that Labour would do this, that and the other. Then comes the Freeze, the selective employment tax and so forth, and discontent in the potteries themselves rises to the point where this right wing union is forced to take action (while, of course, the left MPs remain within the Labour fold).

This is in line with many reports by more honest LP socialists of the last Party Conference. Whereas in previous years the constituency delegates were noted for militancy and the TU ones for their conservatism, at the last conference, though the Union votes were still generally cast for the right, there was a tendency for the junior members of the TU delegations to express more radical criticisms of the Government than those expressed by constituency workers.

A moment's thought will explain this. TU bureaucrats in their junior ranks are, to an high degree, answerable to rank and file pressure, they know their

by their very organization to the continuance of a class system, this radicalisation of the Unions can only proceed within clearly defined limits, but it is an inevitable prior development before there can possibly emerge in this country any libertarian and syndicalist industrially based socialist movement.

Just as the pottery workers had not previously been noted for their leftism so, though Nalso has, since about 1958, been solidly situated on the Labour Left, it has also been firmly committed through all this period to entrist politics, and opposed to even the fake open opposition to Labour manifested by the SLL. Besides remnants of the New Left, at least three Marxist factions (whether Trotskyist or Luxemburgist), who insist on work within the Labour Party, have traditionally had significant strength within Nalso.

As far back as 1959, the Nalso executive was the scene of a dogfight between one such group and another that was then within the SLL but soon after left it to identify itself more closely with Labour. While, as recently as last year, a third such group—on the strength of the work of two sons of a Labour MP who had joined it—was reputed to have picked up one or two hundred militants within Nalso.

If, now, Nalso is merely an SLL front, then it means that the entrist doctrines of these groups have proved inadequate to retain the loyalties of militant Labour student youth, and if this is so, then here is something on which those who talk of staying with the masses should reflect. If, as is probably more likely, the SLL has no appreciable influence in Nalso, and Labour has merely used the SLL as a convenient excuse for sitting on even loyal leftists, then again there is a significant moral here for those who persist in thinking they can work in the Labour Party.

L.O.

# ING THE IRA

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rote: 'The 26-county progressive state in . . . There are no owers.' This at a a Fail Government ower to arrest and an unlimited period trial! In *Outlook* 1), magazine of the CP, Johnston re-ribing the Free State ressive country in

e chagrin of the ass failed to make pitalism work. He Common Market and tain. Last year he de Agreement' with ively makes the 26 province of British ed Moscow — and Communist Party nnolly Association—

had been gathering since the late fifties able industrial and e Republican Move-alysing its failure to the Irish people on tition, was beginning ocial agitation. The tially explosive. If the revolutionary traditions AND THE ARMS of Republicanism became a focus for the growing discontent, then there was a real chance of a showdown between the Irish people and their exploiters.

Fianna Fail had been revealed in all its naked obscenity as a reactionary Tory rump. The Stalinists had to abandon it, but were still faced with the necessity of heading off any potentially revolutionary tendency. So Greaves dispatched Johnston to Dublin. He was entrusted with disarming the Republican Movement. As we have seen, he has done well.

The Sinn Fein Ard Fheis was preceded by some typical Stalinist 'organization'. Known revolutionaries were expelled or squeezed out. Richard Behal, just after escaping from gaol, was summoned to the offices of the *United Irishman* (which are watched 24 hours a day by the Special Branch). Not unnaturally, he didn't turn up. He was expelled forthwith. Others driven out of the Movement included many who had taken part in the IRA campaign of 1956-1962. Slander campaigns were mounted against leaders of the anti-parliamentary persuasion.

There is now in progress an attempt to disarm the IRA. Country units are being told to hand over their arms to the Dublin Headquarters. Many are refusing, and one unit recently went on a raid and obtained 34 extra small arms in Portmarnock. One thing is certain: any arms given up to HQ will never be used again if the Stalinists effect a complete takeover.

The Movement's wing among exiles in Britain is Clann na h-Eireann. At a meeting of the executive of the British Communist Party, held in the second week of January, it was reported that Clann should be in the hands of the party by this summer. The tactic is simple. They are trying to merge it with the Connolly Association. The Chief of Staff of the IRA recently came to England and told Clann members to join the CA. (It must be stated that this person, a life-long, dedicated Republican, is either suffering from some mental aberration or acting as the *unwitting* tool of Roy Johnston.) Greaves has announced that he is going to hold a 'Unity Conference' of Irish emigrant organizations. Johnston has written to his supporters in England telling them to go into *either* Clann or the CA, the inference being that they are, or will be, much the same thing.

Clann had been devoting most of its energies to collecting money for what it believed to be a forthcoming military campaign in Ireland. Early last year its cash in hand was £1,198. It is known in Dublin that only £200 of this has reached the destination for which it was intended. No one has yet come up with a plausible explanation as to what has become of the balance.

Back in Ireland more of Greaves' agents are being brought into leadership positions. Anthony Coughlan, Dublin correspondent of the *Irish Democrat*—a man who in the late fifties was attacking the IRA campaign against British installations in the Six Counties—is now having his speeches reported in full in the *United Irishman*. A series of 'Wolfe Tone Clubs' is being set up, designed to act as centres for Stalinist 'theorizing'. Johnston's magazine *Tuairise* has become a semi-official theoretical journal.

The Irish Republican Movement has always been politically naive. It was based on romantic, idealistic patriotism. Observing the double-dealing and hypocricy of conventional politics, it shied away from theorizing and 'legitimate' political activity. It is doubtful, for example, if many of those who pitted themselves — however incompetently — against British Imperialism between 1956 and 1962 had the vaguest idea of the social content of the 'free Ireland' they were trying to create. This attitude has its positive aspects; but it made the movement easy meat for a carefully planned, efficiently operated and well-financed takeover bid by a gang of political hacks with the combined integrity of an adder. What is needed now is an *organized* campaign to expose Greaves, Johnston, Coughlan and their ilk for what they are. Already a start has been made by the production of an independent magazine *An Poblacht* in Cork. But it is only a start.

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